

The cadres also pushed the organization of "mutual-aid teams" for the sharing of labor and equipment, an effort that struck at the familial organization of farm labor and apparently met with serious difficulties.¹² More recently the cadre has been the instrument for the concerted attempt to build producer co-operatives in the countryside. In such major efforts as the attempt to put Hunan rice farming on a two-crop basis (hitherto only done further south), the cadres were reportedly responsible for training 100,000 farmers.¹³

The cadre carries on the effort to destroy traditional mores. He publicizes the new marriage law, discourages or prevents arranged marriages, lectures on sanitation, and, sometimes with the help of radio, films, and mobile theatrical units, dramatizes the issues of the day, the need for the farmer to sacrifice, to send his sons to the army, to contribute labor to community projects, to inform on his neighbors, to buy bonds, and so forth. The cadre establishes "winter schools" in which the peasants are given intensive political indoctrination, practical training, and instruction in reading and writing. Hunan reported that 2,500,000 peasants were enrolled in these schools in the winter of 1955.¹⁴

The age-old drive of the vigorous peasant to in-

12. W. W. Rostow, The Prospects of Communist China, Cambridge, 1954, p. 84.

13. Reported by New China News Agency, Changsha, Apr. 20, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press (SCMP), 1036, Apr. 28, 1955.

14. People's Daily, Jan. 30, 1955; SCMP 984, pp. 30-31.

had attended or were attending schools.³ In 1947, there were 207 institutes of higher learning throughout the country. But this number was unsatisfactory to the Government; the Ministry of Education announced that the Central Government devoted only 4.3 per cent⁴ of its 1946 budget to education, which is not quite one-third of the amount designated for this purpose by the Constitution. 871 873 •

In the Central-South Region, 48 schools for advanced education were in operation in 1947. Of these, seventeen were technical schools and five were teacher's colleges. The latest available figures on education in Central-South China cited in Table I will offer comparison with developments under the Communist regime, to be discussed. 871

3. The Education Yearbook of China, 1948, pp. 1, 397-1, 483.

4. Chung-hua Nien-chien, 1948 [The China Yearbook, 1948], Nanking, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, p. 1, 623.

for expressing petit bourgeois "sentimentalism" when he said he was sorry to see his students graduate.³⁵ For a while some primary schools in Central-South China employed the method of group discussion to teach political subjects, but this was discouraged by higher authorities,³⁶ because, it was said, primary school pupils were not sufficiently mature to benefit from open discussions. Primary schools at T'ang-yin in Honan Province and Changsha in Hunan Province were cited as model schools where students were taught to enjoy manual work, to help their parents at home, and to prepare for farm work upon graduation.³⁷ Some of these primary schools insisted that the parents agree it was as noble and desirable to have their children upon graduation participate in productive labor as to send them to the schools of higher education.

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B. Secondary Schools

In 1950, the secondary schools in Central-South China were submitted to the initial stages of consolidation and reorganization in accordance with the Communist policy for education. Incomplete

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35. Ibid., May 1952, p. 54.

36. Ibid., January 1952, p. 50.

37. Wo-men Shih Tsen-yang Chin-hsing Lao-tung Chiao-yü Ti [How We Carry Out Labor-Education], Shanghai, Hsin chih-shih ch'u-pan-she, 1955, pp. 15-21, 51-61, 62-66.

statistics from a Communist source indicate that 873 in that year there were 148 middle (secondary) schools in Hupeh, 177 in Hunan, and 190 in Kwangsi Provinces.³⁸ Establishment of additional middle schools brought the total number of registered students (including those of the secondary normal schools and "proletarian accelerated" middle schools) in Mainland China to 3,628,264 by September 1954.³⁹ This figure was claimed to have doubled that of 1948. In Central-South China, Kwangtung Province alone reported having 470 secondary schools in 1954, with a total enrollment of 249,000 students.⁴⁰ The fact that there were actually fewer middle schools in Kwangtung in 1954 than in 1945 (see Table 1) can be accounted for by the elimination of many "old" schools supported by foreign religious groups and by overseas Chinese. However, if Communist statistics can be accepted as reliable, the total enrollment of middle school students in Kwangtung Province showed an increase of approximately 100,000 over the past ten years.

The aim of secondary education, according to the Government Administration Council which reiterated the point on June 5, 1954, is to cultivate

38. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien 1950 [Compendium of Government Reports 1950], Peking, Jen-min Ch'u pan-she, 1951, pp. 870, 899, 962.

39. People's Education, October 1954, p. 34.

40. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 932, p. 12.

nationalism but not, at the expense of "internationalism," 873 •
to teach the students to love their country, respect labor, and realize their duties and responsibilities to their country. 41 To carry out this official line, a system of rotating indoctrination was inaugurated for the secondary school principals and other administrators, with the commissioners of education of each provincial government responsible for the supervision of indoctrination. Fear of deviation was expressed by those in charge of the junior secondary school at Hsing-tzu hsien, Kiangsi Province, in 1954, when the school administration reported that it had to refer every matter of policy to the local Party cadre for interpretation before action could be taken. 42

Some important changes were made in the curriculum for secondary schools. To the natural science courses was added a subject called Elementary Darwinianism. To the social science courses was added a study of the Common Program, later replaced by a study of the new Constitution of 1954. During the past five years there have been times when a scheduled course has been suspended at the last minute because the official textbook for the course was not ready. 43 Many textbooks were

41. Chou En-lai "Directive on Improvement and Expansion of Secondary Education," People's Handbook 1955, pp. 571-73.

42. People's Education, December 1954, p. 30.

43. Ibid., August 1954, pp. 63-64.

revised several times to measure up to the official 823
Party line as interpreted by Peking.

Because of the geographic proximity of the Central-South China Region to such foreign territories as Hong Kong and Macao, the Kwangtung provincial authorities have paid special attention to schools established to accommodate overseas Chinese students. The latest action was the construction of four secondary schools and three primary schools for overseas Chinese in Canton, with a total enrollment capacity of 1,000 students.⁴⁴

C. Institutions of Higher Learning

In principle, the control of institutions of higher learning is centralized under the Ministry of Higher Education, except for the teacher's training program which falls under the Ministry of Education (see Chart 3). In practice, the Government Administration Council has instructed the various central government ministries in charge of different industries to "supervise and co-ordinate" the programs for advanced technical schools. These central government ministries in turn can appoint local government personnel to take charge of the schools in order to maintain close supervision. In this connection, local governments, mainly provincial, were given the responsibility of providing the schools

44. China Daily News, New York, May 28, 1955, p. 6.

with political guidance.⁴⁵ With this system of control, the political conversion of the universities and colleges has been carried out with very little delay. The administrative reorganization of these institutions, however, ran into more difficulties because each of the well established universities was an academic entity with a definite personality of its own. Some of the experiences on the universities in transition were presented by Fei Hsiao-t'ung, noted sociologist and senior professor at the Tsing Hua University, in his book, Revamping the Universities.⁴⁶

Among the more acute difficulties experienced during the conversion and reorganization of universities were:⁴⁷ (1) the "thought reform" of college

45. "Decisions Concerning the Revision of Relations of Leadership for Institutions of Higher Learning," announced by the Government Administration Council on October 6, 1953. People's Handbook 1955, pp. 558-59.

46. Ta-hsüeh Ti Kai-tsao [Revamping the Universities], Shanghai, Shang-hai ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1950.

47. Accounts of thought reform for college professors are presented (possibly with some exaggeration) in such works as Ts'ui Shu-ch'in, Ta-lu Hsüeh-jen Ti Pei-chü [Tragedy of Scholars on the Mainland], Taipei, Chung-yang wen-wu kung-ying she, 1953; and Kung-fei Ti Nu-i Wen-hua Yü Chiao-yü, [The Slave Culture and Education of the Chinese Communists], Taipei, Sixth Section, Central Reform Committee, Nationalist Party, 1952.

Table II. Institutions of Higher Learning in Central-South China

NAME	LOCATION	NUMBER OF DEPARTMENTS	NUMBER OF SPECIAL COURSES	SPECIALIZATION
873 University of Wuhan	Wuchang	9	1	General
Chung-shan University	Qanton	8	none	General
874 Hua-chung Engineering College	Wuchang	3	3	Engineering
Hua-nan Engineering College	Canton	6	4	Engineering
Chung-nan Mining College	Changsha	3	2	Mining
Chung-nan Civil Engineering College	Changsha	1	1	Civil engineering
Hydraulic Engineering College, Wuhan University	Wuchang	1	1	Hydraulic Eng.
Wuhan Inland Waterway Transportation College	Wuchang	2	None	Inland navigation, ship- building
Hua-chung Agricultural College	Wuchang	8	none	Agriculture
Hua-nan Agricultural College	Canton	8	none	Agriculture
Honan Agricultural College	Kaifeng	2	none	Agriculture
Hunan Agricultural College	Changsha	2	none	Agr., forestry
Xiangsi Agricultural College	Nanchang	2	none	Agr., forestry
Kwangsi Agricultural College	Kweilin	2	none	Agr., forestry
Chung-nan Financial and Economic College	Wuchang	6	none	Finance, economics
Chung-nan College of Political Science and Law	Wuchang	none	1	Pol. Science, Law
Chung-nan Tung-chi Medical College	Hankow	2	none	Medicine, public health
Hunan Medical College	Changsha	1	none	Medicine
Hupeh Medical College	Wuchang	1	none	Medicine
Kwangsi Medical College	Kweilin	1	none	Medicine
Hua-nan Medical College	Canton	1	none	Medicine
Kuang-hua Medical College	Nanchang	1	none	Medicine
Honan Medical College	Kaifeng	1	none	Medicine
Hua-chung Teachers' College	Wuchang	9	10	General
Hua-nan Teachers' College	Canton	9	9	General
Honan Teachers' College (no.1)	Kaifeng	6	6	General
Honan Teachers' College (no.2)	Hsin-hsiang	4	4	General
Hunan Teachers' College	Changsha	6	6	General
Kiangsi Teachers' College	Nanchang	3	7	General
Kwangsi Teachers' College	Kweilin	3	4	General
Hupeh Special School for Teachers	Wuchang	none	9	General
Honan Special School for Teachers	Kaifeng	none	6	General
Chung-nan College of Physical Education	Nanchang	2	none	Physical education
Chung-nan Special School of Music	Wuchang	none	3	Music
Chung-nan Special School of Arts	Wuchang	none	3	Arts

* Jen-min Shou-ta's /People's Handbook, 1956, Tientsin, Ta-kung pao, 1955, pp. 567-70.

professors, who were subject to public criticism by their students, and (2) the transfer of certain departments from one university to another, which disrupted the administration of both institutions. In Central-South China, most universities and colleges went through a similar experience. One widely publicized action taken by the municipal authorities of Canton in the "thought reform" movement was the organization in December 1951 of a "self-reform forum" for college professors. Over 90 professors were said to have participated in the conference in order to "clean their thought of any bureaucratic and feudalistic influences" and to learn Marxism. 48

In 1950, there were 34 schools of higher learning in operation in Central-South China. 49 This was 14 less than the number of colleges and universities in 1947. In 1954, after the reorganization, 35 universities and colleges were in operation. 50 Among them were 19 advanced technical schools, 9 teachers' colleges, 5 colleges specializing in the social sciences, physical education, or the arts, and only two "comprehensive" universities, one located at Wuhan, the other at Canton. More than half of these schools simultaneously conducted two- and three-year special courses. (See Table II). The establishment of the short-term special course is in accordance with the over-all government policy of preparing sufficient technical personnel to meet the needs of the national reconstruction program.

48. The Slave Culture and Education of Chinese Communists, p. 66.

49. Compendium of Government Reports, 1950, p. 749.

50. People's Handbook 1955, pp. 567-70. See Table II.

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There were problems created by the "planned distribution" of college graduates to places where they would be needed. Throughout their years in college the students were told that "to think of salary is mercenary and to dodge government assignment is political desertion."⁵¹ From the beginning of 1950 to the end of 1952, the Central People's Government had assigned 74,000 graduates of institutions of higher learning to various parts of China, and another 34,000 were to be assigned during 1953. It is not known how many students from the Central-South China Region have been thus assigned during the past five years. However, the South China Daily of Canton as recently as May 1955 reported the February shipment of 362 Kwangtung "educated youths" to Sinkiang.⁵² While the report did not specify whether all the assignees were college graduates or not, it is presumed that high school and vocational school graduates were also included. Obviously the practice of assigning students to work where they are needed still continues in Central-South China.

51. Kao-teng Hsüeh-hsiao Pi-yeh-sheng Ti Kuang-yung Jen-wu [The Glorious Mission of College Graduates], Shanghai, Hua-tung jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1953, pp. 12-13.

52. Quoted in Union Research Service (a China Mainland press digest bulletin), No. 4, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, September 27, 1955, p. 2.

Yet all the teachers' colleges in China would graduate only 9,600 students in 1954. The report estimated that only about 7,600 new teachers would be available because a number of the graduates would be "asked" to remain on the staff of the teachers' colleges which had to be expanded at the same time. Thus the Communist Ministry of Education predicted a continued shortage of teachers for a number of years to come. 875

Political training for future teachers is stressed in all the teachers' colleges. The curricula designed by the Ministry of Education specify that 33.8 per cent of the total credit hours for a teacher in training must be devoted to the "history of Communist revolution," Marxian and Leninist theories, psychology, the theory of education, the study of teaching methods, and physical education.⁵⁸

E. Schools for Peasants, Workers, Cadres, and the Illiterate

To give political and technical training to peasants, workers, and other "cadres" is one of the basic principles of the Communists' theory of education. A broad program for this purpose was outlined at the All-China Conference on Education for Peasants and Workers by Ch'ien Chün-jui, Vice-Minister of Education, on September 30, 1950.⁵⁹ He quoted 873 ●

58. Ibid., September 1954, pp. 9-10.

59. People's Education, May 1951, pp. 12-16.

Mao Tse-tung as saying that, because the peasants and workers constituted over 80 per cent of China's population, they were the main force upon which would depend the transition of Chinese society from "New Democracy" to Socialism. Ch'ien stressed the following points: (1) The most immediate task was to combat illiteracy. (2) The cadres among the peasants and workers must be the first to be educated so that they would provide proper leadership for the masses. (3) This type of education must be fitted to local conditions which might vary from place to place. 873

No line of demarcation can be clearly drawn between the educational institutions for peasants and workers and those for Party and government cadres. Altogether these schools form a part of the regular school system. As Ch'eng Fang-wu, former president of the College of the War of Resistance at Yen-an, reported in July 1952, ⁶⁰ the development of this type of education under the Communists could be traced back to Mao Tse-tung's Peasant Movement Institute in Hunan in the early days of the Chinese Communist movement. Later, when the Communists established a stronghold in southern Kiangsi Province, cadre schools were established to train political and military personnel. These institutions were succeeded by the College of the War of Resistance and by the Northern Shensi Institute in Yen-an in the 1930's and early 1940's.

60. Ibid., July 1952, p. 6.

As the Communist Army occupied North China after World War II, the North China University and the North China People's Revolutionary University were established for cadre training. After 1949, the Chinese People's University emerged in Peking, with 30 per cent of its curriculum devoted to political education and 70 per cent to the specific fields in which the cadre students were specializing. 873

In 1950, a Communist survey asserted that about 765,000 workers and over 25,000,000 peasants were enrolled in night schools, "winter schools," and other classes during their spare-time.⁶¹ In the same year in Central-South China 26,400 people in Wuhan and over 4,000 in Pao-feng hsien in Honan Province participated in similar educational activities. In Shan hsien, Honan Province, 32 reading classes for women were in operation in 1954 as a part of the illiteracy-elimination program.⁶² Similar classes were formed for soldiers. The much publicized "accelerated course" invented by Ch'i Chien-hua, a cultural cadre attached to the army, to teach the Chinese written language, was first tried and pronounced successful. In the Central-South China Region, several "cultural cadres" assigned to army units followed a system which would enable them to write Chinese characters at a speed never attained before.⁶³ 876

61. People's Education, January 1953, p. 16.

62. Compendium of Government Reports, 1950, p. 829.

63. People's Education, May 1952, p. 4; July 1952, pp. 9-13. These methods of learning the Chinese language are discussed in the chapter on Language. Also see photograph on the inside of the cover of People's Education, Dec. 1951, depicting a reading class for the militia.

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In the proletarian (peasants and workers) accelerated secondary schools (see Chart 2), a formal curriculum is pursued. The courses taught are similar to those in regular secondary schools except that emphasis is placed on technical subjects while anything without direct bearing on farm or factory work is simplified in order to shorten the time of study. In the classes irregularly conducted during the spare-time of the peasants and workers, political study consists of lectures and discussions, using as topics whatever happens to coincide with the most recent official Party propaganda line. For political cadres, regardless of their own professions, study of Marxian and other Communist theories are required. The Central Committee of the Communist Party periodically issues directives listing the works of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tse-tung to be studied. Chiefs of local Party branches are charged with the responsibility of supervising these studies at weekly meetings. ⁶⁴

Classes to teach beginners to read the Chinese language are held separately, but once the students have graduated from these classes they are given the opportunity to advance to higher levels of learning. An attempt is made to raise the academic level of cadres among peasant and workers to that of

64. A sample list of materials to be studied is found in People's Handbook 1955, issued for 1953-54, pp. 535-36.

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graduates of regular schools. In a directive issued by the Communist Party on December 24, 1953,⁶⁵ it was stated that those who pursued spare-time study at least six hours a week for forty weeks a year, covering the essential courses prescribed for the primary school level by educational authorities, were entitled to enroll in a junior secondary school. Three years of similar spare-time study covering junior secondary school courses would enable students to enroll in senior secondary school. In this way, any person pursuing studies in his spare-time can eventually complete his education by attending night colleges.

Another development in education for peasants and workers is the Communist claim that the percentage of students with a peasant- or worker-family background has risen sharply in the total enrollment figures. By 1955, these figures were 21.94 per cent for institutions of higher learning, 60 per cent for middle schools, and 76 per cent for primary schools.⁶⁶ In Central-South China, a survey of four secondary schools in Hupeh Province in October 1951 showed, according to the Communists, that 45 per cent of the students enrolled that year were from peasant and worker families.⁶⁷ Although

65. People's Handbook 1955, p. 538.

66. Communist Education in the Past Five Years, p. 3.

67. People's Education, May 1952, pp. 26-27.

the Communists claimed that these figures indicated an improvement of education among the proletariat, they also admitted that the schools had not been paying sufficient attention to the children of the proletariat, who felt that they were discriminated against, and that the cost of education often hindered the furtherance of their education. 873

Official concern was expressed by the Communists over the lack of preparation on the part of some of the cadres enrolled in higher level cadre schools. 68 To remedy this situation, educational authorities are now trying to strengthen the spare-time classes by giving refresher courses to those students who are deficient.

F. Education for Minority Nationalities

With the slogan, "All the ethnic groups in China are brothers in a big family," the Communists have been encouraging the establishment of a program to provide educational opportunities for minority nationals. Regular schools are encouraged to enroll minority nationals, and special schools have been established for minority groups. Communist statistics asserted that in 1951 there were 9,103 special primary schools (with 943,285 students) and 117 secondary schools (with 45,628 students) throughout China. These figures, it was claimed, 871
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68. People's Education, August 1953, pp. 31-32.

new detailed regulations concerning labor safety in coal mining, and conditions in the coal mines in Honan were said to have since improved.³⁶ 466

In order to keep their labor-safety record perfect, the administrations and the trade unions of some factories and mines in Central-South China concealed industrial accidents from the local labor offices and governments. On October 9, 1952, the Labor Department of the Central-South Military and Political Committee issued a notice calling upon all enterprises to carry out "Measures Concerning the Report of Occupational Accidents and Deaths in Industrial, Transportation and Construction Enterprises" published by the Central Government. It was stated that all industrial accidents and deaths should be reported to the respective labor office or local government. The labor office or local governments at all levels might investigate any accident or death. If it should be discovered that the responsible administration or trade unions intentionally concealed the accidents or deaths from the labor office or local government, they would be punished according to the regulations.³⁷ This warning implies that some reports about labor safety had been falsified by the factory administration and the trade unions.

C. Labor Education and Recreation

Before the Communists took over the China Mainland, from 60 to 80 per cent of the Chinese 466 873

36. Chinese Worker Monthly, June 15, 1950, p. 36.

37. Yangtze Daily, Oct. 9, 1952, p. 1.

workers were illiterate (that is, could read less than 1,000 Chinese characters). "To do away with illiteracy" has been a slogan used by the Communists as an aim of the new regime. Illiteracy had been a great obstacle to the improvement of Chinese workers on certain technical levels and thus had hindered the increase of labor productivity. At the beginning of the new regime, the Communists encouraged workers to take advantage of the night classes run by different enterprises, and the workers were said to have been very enthusiastic about their studies. For instance, according to the statistics for 33 factories in 1949 in Chengchow, Honan Province, 84 per cent of the total workers were illiterate or were on the lower grade school level. In the first quarter of 1950, there were 34 night schools opened for the workers in Chengchow.³³ Li Hsiu-ying, a 37-year-old woman worker of the Wuhan No. 1 Cotton Mill, had worked for twenty-nine years without a chance to study, but supposedly learned over 2,400 characters within a few months.³⁹ "The quick method of learning Chinese characters" began in 1952, and it has been of great assistance in accelerating the elimination of illiteracy among the workers.

In the region as a whole only sixteen newspapers and periodicals were published for workers in 1950. The Short Course School for workers⁴⁰ was started

38. Chinese Worker Monthly, May 15, 1950, p. 48.

39. People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 12.

40. Yangtze Daily, August 29, 1950, p. 4.

in Wuhan in 1950. The workers who left their production work for schools received their original pay. It was for the Party, the trade union, and management to decide who would be qualified for additional technical training. In 1950, Central-South China sent 110 workers to the Chinese People's University in Peking.⁴¹ The Communists had decided to create a "new intelligentsia" among the working class. 466 873

As for recreation, by the end of 1954, 11,929 clubs had been set up in factories, mines, and other enterprises in the country. In the Central-South Region, the unions in Kwangtung Province had established 34 cultural centers for workers. In the cultural centers, there were libraries and recreation halls so that the workers could enjoy their leisure time. But after political studies, criticism meetings, and participation in all kinds of campaigns and movements such as "Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries," "Resist-America-Aid-Korea," and the "Five-Anti" and "Three-Anti" campaigns, it is a miracle that the Chinese workers still manage to find time to eat and sleep. They have very little leisure time. 466

D. Housing Conditions of the Chinese Workers

According to Communist reports, the Chinese People's Government spent more than 286,000,000 yuan (new currency) on housing projects for workers 466 362

41. Workers' Daily, June 6, 1950, p. 1.